



Did the Romans really know (or care) about South Scandinavia? – An archaeological perspective

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BEYOND THE ROMAN FRONTIER
Roman Influences on the Northern
Barbaricum

EDITED BY
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Did the Romans Really Know (or Care) about Southern Scandinavia? An Archaeological Perspective

by THOMAS GRANE

This article grew out of my amazement at the limited use of archaeological evidence in investigations concerning knowledge of the northern barriers of the Roman world in the first 150 years AD.

The most profitable way to examine the issue of Roman knowledge of the northern *Barbaricum* would obviously be to read, with a critical mind, the Greek and Latin literature that describes the peoples and regions of interest. This has mainly been done from a philological, geographical or historical perspective, or sometimes from a combination of these. But, an equally important source is the archaeological evidence. For some reason, this has been considered of minor importance when the texts have been decrypted. The following is a modest attempt to remedy that fact.

THE LITERARY SOURCES

The literary sources at our disposal concerning Scandinavia are few but complicated. They range in time mainly from the birth of Christ to the middle of the 2nd century AD. After this period, there is a lapse in geographical and ethnographical literature on the North. Only a couple of sources from the 3rd-5th century AD have been preserved in larger excerpts, based largely on Pliny the Elder and Ptolemaios.¹ In the 6th century AD, new information appears that is extremely problematic in itself. It concerns

the *History of the Goths* by Jordanes, based on the work of Cassiodorus. Recently, however, A. Søbyst Christensen has shown how this story basically was invented by Cassiodorus.² As the information concerning the first two centuries AD has been thus compromised, I will refrain from further addressing that problem.

Already in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, Pytheas from Massalia visited the North. Although Pytheas' works have not survived, many a piece of information deriving from Pytheas has found its way into the works of later authors. Many others after Pytheas saw it as their task to describe the sailing routes of the known waters. They constitute one group of sources, the so-called *περίπλοι* or "Sailing round in a ship".³ Such a *periplous* is a description of the coastline, listing relevant geographical landmarks on the route, like river mouths, bays, points and mountains and the distances between them, as well as climatic elements like winds and currents and so forth.⁴ Another source is the information gathered by travelling merchants, such as the Roman equestrian, described by Pliny the Elder, who was sent into *Germania* in order to buy amber for the Emperor Nero. He reached the coast of Poland, probably at the Vistula-delta.⁵ However, the descriptions provided by these merchants could also be problematic or untrustworthy according to several ancient writers.⁶ Such land travelers would use road descriptions, the so-called *itineraria*. Like the *periploi*, they describe land-

1. Caius Iulius Solinus based on Pliny; Sallmann 2001; Markianos based on Ptolemaios; Gärtner 1999.
2. Søbyst Christensen 2002, 250-277.
3. Burian 2000, 586-587.

4. Olshausen 1991, 81-87.
5. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 37.43-45.
6. e.g., Strabo *Γεωγραφία* 1.1.8; Mattern 1999, 35-37.

marks and provide distances between towns or markets as well as other relevant information, such as road taxes and the location of road stations with *mansiones* or inns.⁷ The last group of sources includes descriptions of wars.⁸ These are most prominent in the first decades, starting as early as the descriptions of firstly the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* and later the *Suebi* in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*. This type of source also describes the first encounters with the North.

One aspect to be aware of is the way geography was perceived by the Romans. Maps, or ideas of maps, had been known since the 5th century BC, but the tools for getting to the right place were the *itineraria* and *periploi*. These were one dimensional route descriptions in text not unlike some present-day GPS systems giving verbal instructions: "after 200 metres turn left at the next cross road." Even an *itinerarium pictum*, a drawn road description, would not come near to a realistic presentation, the most famous example being the Peutinger map (Fig. 1). This map covers the Roman Empire, but it is twenty times longer than it is wide and the Mediterranean Sea is but a narrow stream. It shows how to get around the Empire and the distances between the towns and is as such a logistical tool. The shape of the map makes it probable that it was drawn on papyrus.⁹ Thus, it is not strange that some information derived from these sources is hard to fit into the modern geographical mind.

THE AUGUSTAN NAVAL EXPEDITION

The first real contact the Romans had with Scandinavia was during the Augustan campaigns. From several sources we learn that naval expeditions explored the North Sea area.

At his mausoleum in Rome, the Emperor Augustus had placed two bronze plaques, on which his deeds, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, are set out in 35 chapters. In chapter 26, he comments

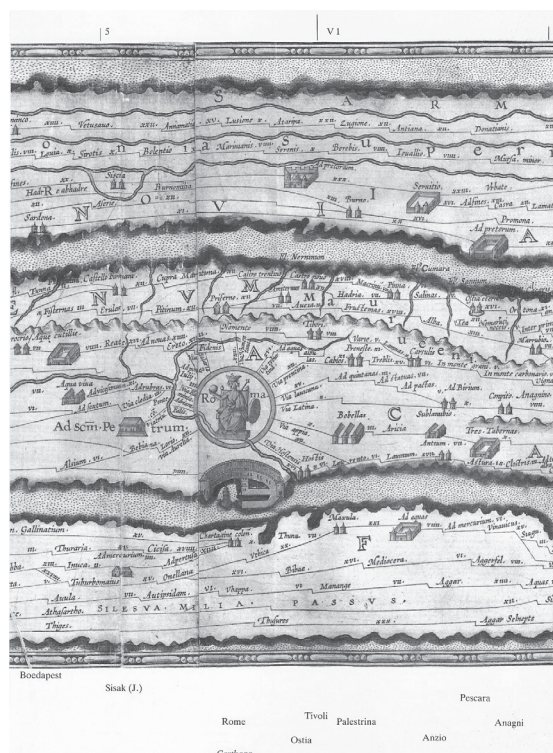


Fig. 1. The Peutinger map, detail (from Stuart 1999).

on the extension of the borders of the empire. About the North he claims:

My fleet has sailed over the Ocean from the mouth of the Rhine eastward all the way to the land of the *Cimbri*, where no Roman before that time had reached, either by land or by sea, and the *Cimbri*, *Charydes* and *Semnonnes* and other Germanic peoples in the same area asked for my friendship and that of the Roman people through envoys.

Augustus *Res gestae* 26.2.4.¹⁰

From Strabo, the Greek geographer, we learn little. Interestingly, he claims that:

...the areas beyond the Elbe along the Ocean are completely unknown to us.

Strabo *Γεωγραφία* 7.2.4.

The next source is Velleius Paterculus. He is particularly interesting, since he served as an officer under Tiberius in the campaigns in Ger-

7. Olshausen 1991, 87-90.

8. Mattern 1999, 26-27.

9. Mattern 1999, 29, 37-66; Nicolet 1991, 69-74.

10. The quotations are English translations of translated texts by Lund (1993), Hermann (1988, 1991) and Grane (2003), except the Pliny quotes, which are translated by the author, see Appendix 1.

mania. As such, he describes the progress made by the army and fleet as they move forward. He mentions that the Roman army and fleet unite at the river Elbe, the fleet having circumnavigated the bays of the Ocean and hitherto unknown waters.¹¹

But the most precise description is to be found in the works of Pliny the Elder. In his *Naturalis Historia*, which was finished shortly before his death in AD 79, Pliny touches upon the expedition under Tiberius.

The northern Ocean has for the greater part been navigated, when a fleet, under the auspices of the divine Augustus, sailed around *Germania* to the promontory of the *Cimbri* and from there saw or heard about through rumours an enormous sea that stretched to the shores of *Scythia* and to immensely damp regions.

Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 2.167.

The Latin text of this paragraph is open to another translation, in which the fleet sailed all the way to the shores of *Scythia*.¹² This, however, would spoil the idea of an enormous sea east of the tip of Jutland. Naturally, it makes a difference concerning the Roman knowledge of the area, but the identification of the *Cimbrorum Promunturium*, which is the first geographical place name mentioned in this context, as the northernmost point of Jutland seems to be clear.¹³

This naval expedition probably took place in AD 5, though some argue that it occurred in 12-10 BC on the initiative of Drusus.¹⁴ In a description of amber, the 4th century writer Caius Iulius Solinus, who uses Pliny the Elder extensively, mentions that Germanicus Caesar explored all coastal areas of *Germania*.¹⁵ That comment supports a date for Drusus, who was bestowed the name *Germanicus*. But the comment by Velleius Paterculus that the fleet explored unknown waters is an argument for a later date. However, with regard to the possible knowledge derived from this expedition the date is of no real importance.

11. Velleius Paterculus *Hist. Rom.* 2.106.3.

12. Lennartz 1969, 67; Hermann 1988, 561.

13. Lennartz 1969, 67, 239, note 23.

14. Alonso-Núñez 1988, 48; Hermann 1988, 531, 561; Lennartz 1969, 67; Nicolet 1991, 87 and note 17; Timpe 1989, 367; Ørsted 1999, 111.

THE FIRST DESCRIPTIONS OF THE “NORTHERN OCEAN”

Pomponius Mela

The first concrete information available on the “northern Ocean” comes from the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela (Fig. 2). His work *De Chorographia*, meaning regional geography, was written shortly before the invasion of Britannia in AD 43. Mela mentions that above the Elbe lays the Codan Bay, which is full of large and small islands. Therefore the sea resembles a river that runs between the islands and sometimes floods over them. Between the coast and the islands, the sea forms a kind of belt that winds and stretches in a long curve, which is where the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* live.¹⁶ This is a description of the Wadden Sea, the shallow coastal waters in the North Sea along the Dutch, German and Danish coasts. Later, Mela mentions a group of islands in this Codan Bay. These are the seven *Haemodae*. One text version indicates that they are in the Codan Bay, and that the largest and most fertile of them is the island of *Codanovia*, which is inhabited by the *Teutoni*.¹⁷ Another text version says in one sentence that the *Haemodae* are opposite *Germania* and in the next sentence that in the Codan

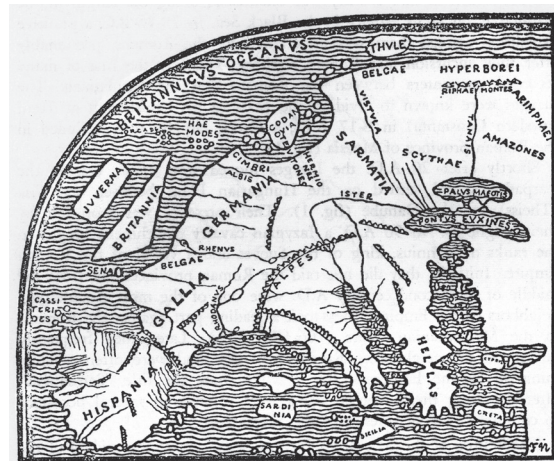


Fig. 2. Europe according to Pomponius Mela (from Sulimirski 1964).

15. Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 20.9.

16. Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.31-32.

17. Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.54; Lund 1993, 220-221.

Bay it is first and foremost the island of *Scadinavia* that should be singled out. This island is inhabited by the *Teutoni* and exceeds the other islands in both size and fertility.¹⁸ *Codanovia* and *Scadinavia* are thus the same island. This island is usually believed to be modern Scania. Mela is difficult to understand, however, as he describes both sides of the Codan Bay more or less identically. This can not be if we expect one side to be the Baltic area, as the description is that of the Wadden Sea. Possibly the reason for this is that Mela has confused different sources. This makes a logical interpretation difficult.¹⁹

Pliny the Elder

Some 35 years later, Pliny the Elder wrote his *Naturalis Historia*, in which he provided new knowledge of Scandinavia. Having served as an officer in Roman *Germania* in the late AD 40s, he might have had the opportunity to acquaint himself with parts of *Germania* first hand. He even wrote a work, *Bella Germania*, on the Germanic wars, which is unfortunately lost today. Pliny tells us that the peoples of northern *Germania* are the *Inguaeones*, who consist of the *Cimbri*, *Teutoni* and *Chauci*. Of these tribes, it is certain that the *Chauci* inhabited the part of the North Sea coast approximately where the rivers Ems and Weser flow into the North Sea. The *Cimbri* presumably lived in Jutland. Where the *Teutoni* lived we can only guess, but based on the first information concerning the *Teutoni* gained from Mela, one possibility would be in Schleswig, i.e., the region stretching on both sides of the present Danish-German border. Regarding the geography of the North, Pliny writes:

There the *Saevo* Mountain, which is immense and no smaller than the Ripaeen mountains, forms an enormous bay, which is called *Codanus*, going all the way to the Cimbrian promontory; a bay full of islands, of which the most famous is *Scatinavia*, of unknown size. As large a part of the island, as is known,

is inhabited in 500 *pagi* by the line of the *Hilleviones*: therefore the island is called another world. No smaller is *Aeningia* according to belief.

Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.96.

It is generally accepted that the *Saevo* Mountain must be the south coast of Norway, although some place it on the west coast (Fig. 3).²⁰ J.V. Svensson places it in the Baltic region.²¹ The Codan Bay, as was evident from Mela's account, must be the stretch at least from Skagerrak down to the Baltic Sea. The Cimbrian promontory is Jutland. *Scatinavia* is apparently Scania again, while some believe *Aeningia*, which is not described further, is Finland.²² Strangely enough, the *Hilleviones* are mentioned only here and are not mentioned in Pliny's list of peoples, where they would have fit in among the *Inguaeones*. Later Pliny mentions some other bays: the *Cylipenus* Bay, in which the island of *Latris* lies, and the *Lagnus* Bay stretching to the Cimbrian regions and the Cimbrian Promontory, which extends far out into the sea and forms the peninsula called *Tastris*. These place names are very difficult to identify, which is evident from the numerous suggestions concerning their locations. For ex-



Fig. 3. Scandinavia according to Plinius the Elder. The traditional view.

18. Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.54; Hermann 1988, 300-301, 548.

19. Lennartz 1969, 65; Hermann 1988, 548-549.

20. Lennartz 1969, 71-72; Hermann 1988, 566; Svennung 1974, 44; Timpe 1989, 367; for an alternative location: Alonso-Núñez 1988, 51-52.

21. Svensson 1921, 63.

22. Lennartz 1969, 73-74; Svennung 1974, 67-70; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52.

ample, it has been suggested that *Cylipenus* Bay is the Kattegat or the Baltic, *Latris* is Zealand or Lolland, *Lagnus* Bay is the water along the east coast of Jutland, all the way from Little Belt between Jutland and Funen, and *Tastris* is Ska-gen.²³ Another suggestion is that these places are on the western part of the German Baltic coast.²⁴ Through the Roman army, Pliny knows of 23 islands, of which the most important is *Burcana*, also called *Fabaria* or the Bean Island, because of the many wild beans growing there. Because of the large deposits of amber, the Roman soldiers, however, call the island *Glaesaria* after *glesum*, the Germanic word for amber, whereas the *Germani* refer to it as *Austeravia* or *Actania*. Pliny also uses the names in plural form.²⁵ Prior to these descriptions of the North, Pliny moves his narrative from the Black Sea across the Ripaeen Mountains to the shores of the northern Ocean, from where he moves to the west until he reaches *Gades* (Cádiz).

Several islands without names are reported at this location. One of these, lying off *Scythia*, is called *Baunonia*, one day's voyage away according to Timaeus, where amber is washed up by the waves when it is the right season. The remaining coasts are vaguely known. Of established report is the northern Ocean. From the River *Parapanisus*, which washes the coast of *Scythia*, Hecataeus calls it the Amalchian Sea, which means 'frozen' in the language of the natives. According to Philemon it is called *Morimarusa* by the Cimbri (that is 'Dead Sea') from that point and all the way to the Rusbean promontory, and then on the other side it is called the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of Lampsacus reports that the island *Balcia* of immense size lies three days' sail from the coast of the Scythians; Pytheas names this island *Basilis*.

Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.94-5.

This information derives from Greek sources. One of these sources mentions a sea that has a name of Cimbrian origin. Although these locations have been placed variously,²⁶ some of the information and the order in which it comes

indicate that it might be the northeastern part of the Baltic Sea that is being described. This is supported by the fact that Pliny continues directly with descriptions of strange peoples living on eggs alone or with horses' feet and so on.²⁷ Lennartz, however, states that Pytheas never reached the Baltic Sea, thus Pytheas refers to the North Sea; in fact, he believes that *Baunonia* and *Balcia* are both the same amber island in the North Sea mentioned above.²⁸ The fact that a Cimbrian name, *Morimarusa*, is mentioned has led to the belief that this particular sea must be located near the homeland of the *Cimbri*. However, as noted earlier, the natives called it the "Amalchian Sea". Thus, the information received by Philemon initially must have come from a Cimbrian traveller, who actually experienced a frozen sea himself, far from home, and therefore used a Cimbrian expression. Accordingly, this suggests an entirely different scenario. The un-named islands could be those in the Gulf of Riga; however, any one of them would only be a day's voyage or so away if one started at the southern edge of the Gulf. Bornholm is the only island to be reached from the Scythian coast in one day.²⁹ The River *Parapanisus* is the River Daugava, ending in the Gulf of Riga. On Ptolemaios' map of *Sarmatia Europaea*, this river is possibly called *Chesinus*.³⁰ Beyond lies the Gulf of Finland, which actually freezes over yearly. Cape *Rusbae* must be a tip of the Finnish Peninsula,³¹ followed by the Sea of Bothnia as the Cronian Sea. A three days' sail away from the Scythian coast, *Balcia* could very well be Uppland or Södermanland in central Sweden (Fig. 4).

Lennartz so obviously states that as the basis of Pliny's information derives from both a sea route (*Flottenvorstoß der Römer*) and land routes (*Handelsstraßen, Bernsteinstraße*), then "*erscheint das Bild über Nord- und Ostsee auf den ersten Blick recht verworren*."³² But perhaps this is not the case, which can be seen if one ap-

23. Svennung 1974, 70-77; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 53; Hermann 1988, 567-568.

24. Lennartz 1969, 74-76.

25. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 4.97, 4.103, 18.121, 37.36-37.

26. Lennartz 1969, 68-71; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 50-52; Hermann 1988, 565-566; Timpe 1989, 366-367.

27. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 4.95.

28. Lennartz 1969, 69.

29. Andersen *et al.* 1991, 237-238, fig. 135.

30. Timpe 1989, 385, fig. 83.

31. Actually, such a 'tip' could prove difficult to locate, as the area is scattered with reefs and tiny islands.

32. Lennartz 1969, 67.

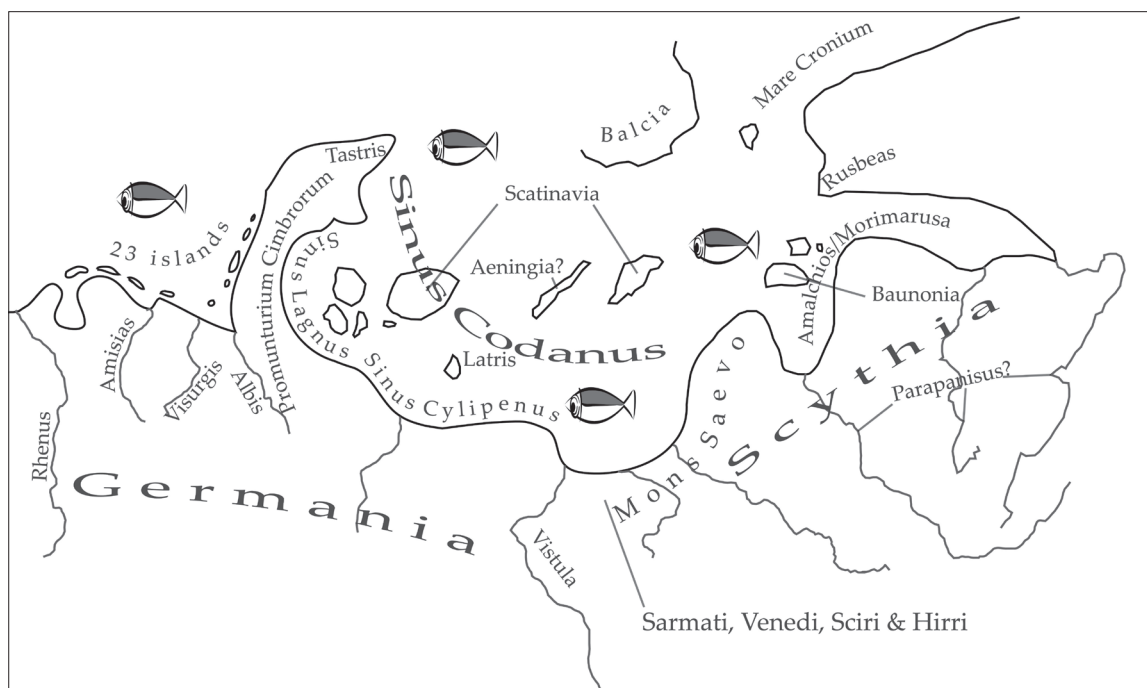


Fig. 4. Scandinavia according to Plinius. A new view.

proaches Pliny's entire text logically from start to finish, briefly and without regards to the whereabouts of Pytheas.³³ His account really starts with leaving the Black Sea, as mentioned above, followed by the descriptions of *Baunonia*, *Parapanisus* and so forth. Then come the strange tales of mysterious creatures. "*Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania.*" ["From there on the account is revealed more clearly from the line of the Inguaeones, who are the first in Germania."] Only now are we getting near *Germania*, and here we reach the subjects of the first quote of this section, because *there* we find the *Saevo* Mountain, the one extremity of the Codan Bay, the Cimbrian Promontory being the other, as the text says, but we are nowhere close to it as yet. Now follows the description of *Scatinavia*, which is still difficult to place, although the Baltic islands are close. Pliny lets us know that some of his sources have the *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, *Sciri* and *Hirri* living in these areas as far west presumably as the Vistula River. There are

two bays following each other, the *Cylipenus* with the island of *Latris* and the *Lagnus*, which reaches the *Cimbri*. Then we have the Cimbrian promontory with the peninsula of *Tastris* on top followed by the 23 islands known from the Roman army. It is clear that scholars like Lennartz and Svennung have problems connecting anything with the east Baltic region, apart from *Aeningia*. And once they have placed, for instance, the island of *Balcia* in the North Sea, no time is used searching for an enormous island, because they already know that such an island does not exist.³⁴ One great problem with this straightforward interpretation is the *Saevo* Mountain, as nothing in the east really qualifies as such. Svensson suggests that it is the Baltic Lake Plains, a ridge that stretches along the Baltic Sea. He argues that Pliny was not referring to an incredibly high mountain, but one that stretched far. He even has an etymological explanation, as the word *Saevo* has been compared to the Gothic word *saiws* meaning "lake". Whereas the name "Lake Mountain" has been

33. For the full text, see Appendix 1.

34. Lennartz 1969, 69; Svennung 1974, 34-38.

deemed unfit as a descriptor for the Norwegian mountains, it fits perfectly with Svensson's theory.³⁵ All modern scholars, however, in the end reach the conclusion that it must be the southern part of Norway. As Timpe points out, this narrative is in the form of a *periplous*, and in contradiction to what Lennartz states, it does not really present information derived from the land side. Thus, Timpe sees the description begin at the entrance to the Codan Bay between the *Saevo* Mountain and the Cimbrian promontory going east along the north side and back along the south side, and not as it must have been meant, from east to west.³⁶ Whereas Pliny simply states that the enormous bay called *Codanus* reaches from the *Saevo* Mountain to the Cimbrian Promontory, scholars have found it necessary to locate this mountain somewhere close to the tip of Jutland. This causes great confusion as the different islands and seas that are mentioned in the text before *mons Saevo* cannot be situated then in the bay. The solution for these scholars is to break down the text and examine each element individually regardless of its place in the text. The result is that the different sources must have given different names for the same features.³⁷ Thus, a perfectly coherent narrative is cut to pieces.

Solinus

Although Caius Iulius Solinus wrote in the 4th century AD, it seems prudent to mention his work in connection with Pliny the Elder, as Pliny's work forms the bulk of Solinus' sources.³⁸ He wrote a geographical summary, including, for example, history, origins, native customs and curiosities, called *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*. I shall only highlight a few pieces of information that relate to the knowledge we get from Pliny's work. Solinus begins his description of *Germania* with the *Saevo* Mountain.

The *Saevo* Mountain, large itself and not smaller than the Rhiphaean Hills, constitutes the beginning

of *Germania*. It is inhabited by the *Inguaeones*, from whom first, after the Scythians, the Germanic name arises.

Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 20.1.

Here we learn that *Saevo* Mountain, which Pliny places on the far side of the Codan Bay, is right next to *Scythia*. Moreover, Solinus writes that the island of *Balcia*, which previously was described as enormous, is almost like a continent.³⁹ In Solinus' text, the island of *Scatinavia* has transformed into *Gangavia*, the largest of the Germanic islands. This island represents nothing out of the ordinary, other than that it is the largest island.⁴⁰

COMPREHENSIVE ETHNOGRAPHICAL AND GEOGRAPHIC STUDIES

Tacitus

The work *De origine et situ Germanorum Liber* or simply *Germania* by Publius Cornelius Tacitus is the most important source that has survived concerning the Germanic tribes and their society. One of Tacitus' main sources very well might have been the lost *Bella Germania* by Pliny the Elder. *Germania*, which was written in AD 98, is first and foremost an ethnographic rather than a geographic work. This means that although Tacitus presents ample new information on the North, he does not provide many place names with which to work. What he does give is a thorough description of various tribes and what makes them exceptional. He mentions the former might of the *Cimbri*, who live by the Ocean.⁴¹ A group of tribes are mentioned together. They are united because they live protected by forests and rivers and they all worship the Goddess Nerthus. Her sanctuary is a sacred grove on a small island out in the Ocean.⁴² For that reason, and because they are mentioned after the *Langobardi*, said to live in the area around the lower Elbe, these "Nerthus peoples"

35. Svensson 1921, 61-64.

36. Timpe 1989, 368.

37. Lennartz 1969, 68-75; Svennung 1974, 24-38; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 50-53, 61; Timpe 1989, 366-369.

38. Hermann 1991, 364-369, 632-634; Sallmann 2001, 701-702. Some also place him in the beginning of the 3rd

century AD; see Alonso-Núñez 1988, 59-60; Warmington 1970 [2003], 786.

39. Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 19.6.

40. Solinus *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 20. 7-8.

41. Tacitus *Germania* 37.1.

42. Tacitus *Germania* 40.2-4.

have been placed in Schleswig-Holstein, Jutland and the Danish isles.⁴³ The most elaborate description of a northern people is that of the *Suiones*. Tacitus proceeds to introducing the *Suiones* after describing peoples living along the coast of *Germania*, i.e., the Baltic coast of Germany and Poland.

Next come the communities of the *Suiones*, situated in the Ocean itself; and beside their strength in men and arms, they are very powerful at sea. The form of their vessels varies thus far from ours, that they have prows at each end, so as to be always ready to row ashore without turning; nor are they moved by sails, nor do they have banks of oars on their sides, but the rowers work here and there and in all parts of the ship, as is done in some rivers, and change their oars from place to place, just as they shift their course hither and thither. To wealth also, amongst them, great veneration is paid, and thence a single ruler governs them, without any restriction of power, and he exacts unlimited obedience. Nor are weapons, as amongst other *Germani*, used indifferently by all, but are locked up under guard by a particular keeper, who is in fact always a slave: since the Ocean protects them from all sudden invasions and attacks; besides the fact that armed bands, when they are not employed, easily grow debauched and tumultuous. The truth is it is not in the interest of an arbitrary prince to trust the care and power of arms to either a nobleman or a freeman, or indeed to any man above the status of a slave.

Tacitus: *Germania* 44.2-3.

It is generally agreed that this place in the ocean itself is some part of Sweden, perhaps even the southern central region of Svealand or Uppland. Tacitus is presumed to have obtained this information by way of the trade route from the Danube via the Vistula to the Baltic Sea.⁴⁴ On the other side of the *Suiones* there is another sea, which encompasses the world.⁴⁵ Hereafter he returns to the coast of the Baltic Sea, which he refers to as the Suebic Sea. On the right shore, i.e., east, live the Aestian tribes, who gather amber.⁴⁶ Finally he mentions the *Sithones*, living next to the *Suiones*. They are just

like the *Suiones* except that they are ruled by a woman.⁴⁷

Ptolemaios

Whereas Tacitus concentrated on ethnography, Klaudios Ptolemaios from Alexandria solely concentrated on geography. He lived from c. AD 85-165, and wrote works on astronomy, astrology, epistemology and geography. His *Guide to Geography* or Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις, in eight books, describes how to make regional and world maps based on latitude and longitude; this *Guide* had a crucial influence on the cartography of later times. Although his chapter on *Germania* shows an enormous increase in knowledge of the rivers and places of this area, he provides little new information on the North (Fig. 5 & Frontispiece).⁴⁸ On the contrary, a place like the *Saevo* Mountain seems to have vanished. He gives the coordinates of the Cimbrian Peninsula, which is Jutland with Schleswig-Holstein, as well as centre coordinates for



Fig. 5. Germania according to Ptolemaios (from Grane 2003, 140, fig. 12a).

43. Lennartz 1969, 83; Perl 1990, 238-239.

44. Lennartz 1969, 87; Svennung 1974, 97-101; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 55-56; Perl 1990, 250.

45. Tacitus *Germania* 45.1.

46. Tacitus *Germania* 45.2.

47. Tacitus *Germania* 45.6.

48. Ptolemaios Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις 2.11; Timpe 1989, 386.

three groups of islands, the Saxon, the Alocian and the Skandian, respectively west, north and east of Jutland. East of the Skandian island lies the larger island of *Skandia*, which is given four coordinates.⁴⁹ This island supposedly lies more or less above the mouth of the River Vistula. Furthermore, he gives the names of seven tribes living on the Cimbrian Peninsula, of which the northernmost is the *Cimbri*.⁵⁰ On *Skandia* there are seven tribes as well:

In the west the island is inhabited by the *Chaideinoi*, in the east by the *Phauonai* and the *Phiraisoi*, in the north by the *Phinnoi*, in the south by the *Goutai* and the *Daukiones*, in the middle by the *Leuonoi*.

Ptolemaios: Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις 2.11.16

Following Ptolemaios' guidelines, Jutland erroneously "leans" c. 45 degrees to the east. In addition, some think that the island of Funen was included with Jutland, because coming from the north, travellers might easily be led to think that Funen was a part of Jutland.⁵¹ As was the case with *Scatinavia*, *Skandia* is identified with Scania and the Swedish peninsula, except that the island has been placed a little too far to the east.⁵² The "smaller" Skandian islands therefore have been identified as Zealand, Langeland and Lolland,⁵³ or as Zealand, Lolland and Falster,⁵⁴ Zealand, Funen and Lolland,⁵⁵ or more cautiously simply as the Danish islands.⁵⁶ The Saxon islands are thought to be the North Friesian Wadden Sea islands, while the Alocian islands are said either to be the deep southern Norwegian fjords and fells, which give the impression of being islands,⁵⁷ or even the islands of Helgeland off the coast of northern Norway.⁵⁸ As for the tribes living on the Cimbrian Peninsula, most of them can be explained against the background of the infor-

mation from Tacitus.⁵⁹ Attempts have also been made to explain the tribes inhabiting *Skandia*. The *Phinnoi* are thought to have settled in northern Sweden and to be identical with the Lapps or Finns, while the *Goutai* are said to be from Götaland in central Sweden.⁶⁰ While some scholars do not think a reasonable interpretation can be given to identify the remaining tribes,⁶¹ others do not hesitate to try. Thus, the *Chaideinoi* are identified with the southern Norwegian tribe Hei(ð)nir, from the area Hedemarken north of Oslo.⁶² *Leuonoi* is thought to be another misspelling of *Suiones*, who are said to be the origin of the Svear and Swedes.⁶³ The *Daukiones* could be the Danes, while the *Phauonai* and *Phiraisoi* must certainly have inhabited Finland.⁶⁴ Thus *Skandia* ends up not only as Scania or the Swedish peninsula, but also as the entire Scandinavian Peninsula, including Finland and Norway.

Markianos

Little is known about Markianos, an author who lived sometime between the 3rd and the beginning of the 5th century AD. He wrote three works, of which one was called *Περίπλους της ἐξω θαλάσσης* or *Circumnavigation of the Outer Ocean*.⁶⁵ Markianos' work is mainly based on Ptolemaios, but also on the geographer, Protagoras from c. AD 200. He follows the coast of *Germania* in the same fashion as Ptolemaios, but instead of using coordinates, he provides distances from one point to the other, in the form of a minimum and a maximum distance, an approach he borrows from Protagoras.⁶⁶ Concerning the Cimbrian Promontory, there is a small difference compared to Ptolemaios, as the easternmost point is second after the northernmost point, while it is the first after ac-

49. Ptolemaios Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις 2.11.2, 16.

50. Ptolemaios Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις 2.11.7.

51. Lennartz 1969, 117-118; Goetz & Welwei 1995, 190.

52. Lennartz 1969, 118-119; Svennung 1974, 198-199; Hermann 1991, 585; Goetz & Welwei 1995, 190.

53. Svennung 1974, 198.

54. Lennartz 1969, 118.

55. Alonso-Núñez 1988, 57.

56. Hermann 1991, 585; Goetz & Welwei 1995, 190.

57. Lennartz 1969, 118; Hermann 1991, 585.

58. Alonso-Núñez 1988, 57.

59. Lennartz 1969, 122-124.

60. Lennartz 1969, 128; Svennung 1974, 198, 208, 212-217; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 58-59; Hermann 1991, 585; Goetz & Welwei 1995, 190.

61. Lennartz 1969, 128; Goetz & Welwei 1995, 190.

62. Svennung 1974, 208; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 58-59; Hermann 1991, 585.

63. Svennung 1974, 57-61, 208-212; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 58-59.

64. Svennung 1974, 217-230; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 58-59.

65. Hermann 1992, 506; Gärtner 1999, 916.

66. Markianos Περίπλους 2.31-7; Hermann 1992, 506-507.

cording to Ptolemaios.⁶⁷ About the Sarmatian coast he tells us that the Vendian Bay begins at the mouth of the Vistula and stretches a long way and that the next two rivers flow into this bay.⁶⁸

CONCLUSION

How do all these sources fit together? There are certainly some aspects that require more discussion than do the others. I will concentrate here on only a few. The largest issue is the nature of *Scatinavia* and its inhabitants. But also the matters of *Aeningia*, *mons Saevo* and the Baltic coast deserve some examination.

Scatinavia/Skandia

That *Scatinavia* is equal to the southern part of Sweden seems to have been established as certain already in the 1880s, as referred to by D. Detlefsen.⁶⁹ This is reflected in the present name of this part of the country, Skåne. Furthermore, it is stated as obvious that it is thought of as an island: “Dass auch *Scatinavia*, d. i. Südschweden zu diesen Inseln mitgerechnet wird, kann nicht auffallen, da noch Tacitus, der zwar diesen Namen nicht kennt, die Staaten der Suiones, d. i. der Schweden, als in oceano, also auf einer Insel liegend, bezeichnet (Germ. 44)”.⁷⁰ From then on, it is a generally accepted fact needing no arguments that the Romans erroneously thought of *Scatinavia*/Sweden as an island, e.g., Lennartz: “...und die riesige Insel *Scatinavia*, ohne Zweifel Südschweden...”⁷¹

But what other argument is there except that it must be? Mela's statement that *Scatinavia* is larger and more fertile is hardly supportive, though J.M. Alonso-Núñez comments that it should be remembered that Scania, the southern part of Sweden, is very fertile, but so is Zea-

land.⁷² Pliny tells us that on only a part of the island do the habitants live in 500 districts (*pagi*), and he calls it “another world”.⁷³ J. Svennung and both J. Hermann and D. Timpe suggest that the number of communities or villages must be exaggerated, since that would mean too densely a populated area.⁷⁴ Svennung believes the number to be a Roman misunderstanding of an old Swedish word, *femf hunda land(a?)*, which means a land of five territories each governed by 100 men, rather than 500 lands (*pagi* = districts). Svennung derives this term from medieval Swedish.⁷⁵

The fact that the island is of unknown size and that it is called *alter orbis* both indicate considerable size. Or do they? There might not have been much more to discover or the informant might not have thought additional information to be of any relevance. The possibilities are many, but they are of course only speculations of little real value. The expression *alter orbis* is used by the classical authors to describe worlds foreign to their own. Svennung gives a thorough description of the expression.⁷⁶ For instance, Pliny tells us how *Taprobane* (Sri Lanka) was described as “another world”, until Alexander the Great discovered that it was a relatively small island.⁷⁷ *Alter orbis* has also been used concerning Britain. “*Quasi hic Romanis orbis non sufficeret, alterum cogitavit: classe igitur in Britanniam transit.*” “As if the Roman world did not suffice, he (Caesar) thought of another (world): thus, the fleet sailed to Britain.”⁷⁸ In reality, this description defines only what the Greeks or Romans thought of a place unknown and foreign to them, rather than defining the size and character of the land.

Tacitus never mentions *Scatinavia* or anything resembling it, but he describes an island-based Germanic society in the Ocean, which has been identified as the inhabitants of *Scatinavia*.

67. Markianos *Περίπλους* 2.33; Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11; Hermann 1992, 507.

68. Markianos *Περίπλους* 2.39.

69. Detlefsen 1904, 31.

70. Detlefsen 1904, 31.

71. Lennartz 1969, 73, 87, 118; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 50; Timpe 1989, 368-370.

72. Pomponius Mela *De Chorographia* 3.54; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 50.

73. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 4.96.

74. Svennung 1974, 61-65; Hermann 1988, 567; Timpe 1989, 369.

75. Svennung 1974, 62.

76. Svennung 1974, 66-67.

77. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 6.81.

78. Florus 1.45.16 (3.10.16).

As Timpe points out, there is no other-worldly atmosphere or strange lands left in the work of Tacitus.⁷⁹ Here the Baltic Sea is no longer the Ocean, but *mare Suebicum*, the Suebian Sea.⁸⁰

Ptolemaios mentions *Skandia*, which should be the same as *Scatinavia*. Several arguments support the fact that *Skandia* should be Sweden. Again, the resemblance of the name *Skandia* to present day Skåne is obvious.⁸¹

As mentioned above, the various peoples can be placed all over the Scandinavian Peninsula. Furthermore, it is supposed to be opposite the mouth of the river Vistula. Here Sweden qualifies, if we turn the map clockwise a little. Otherwise, the island of Gotland is right on the mark. But *Skandia* is given four coordinates. Is Ptolemaios just guessing, as he would be if it was in fact Sweden, or is he not? Has he actually received information that allows him to give the island a north-coordinate as well? In fact, Markianos informs us that the Σκανδίας περίπλους, the circumnavigation of *Skandia*, is somewhere between 2,000 and 2,500 *stadia* or 392 to 490 km.⁸² Comparing the Cimbrian Peninsula with *Skandia*, we roughly have the equivalent of Jutland and Zealand. Incidentally, two of the track distances for the boat race 'Sjælland Rundt', i.e., "Around Zealand", in 2006 were 207 and 226 nautical miles or 383.36 km and 418.55 km.⁸³ But where is the Scandinavian Peninsula, then? That *Scatinavia/Skandia* is part of Sweden or the Scandinavian Peninsula is mainly based on the likeness of names, i.e., the palaeographical evidence as provided primarily by Svennung and the assumption that this place should be quite large.

The Suiones

But who lived there? Mela mentions that the *Teutoni* inhabit *Scadinavia*, but he also mentions that the *Teutoni* live near the *Cimbri*. For that reason, Hermann and Alonso-Núñez believe

that Mela mixed up his sources as he had done elsewhere.⁸⁴ Lennartz on the other hand places the *Teutoni* in southern Sweden.⁸⁵ Pliny places the *Teutoni* in a group with the *Cimbri* and the *Chauci*, while he places the otherwise unknown *Hilleviones* on the island of *Scatinavia* in 500 *pagi*.⁸⁶ Tacitus has the tribal federation the *Suiones* living on an island that is probably *Scatinavia*.⁸⁷ The island of *Skandia*, in Ptolemaios' work, has no less than 7 peoples: *Chaideinoi*, *Phauonai*, *Phiraisoi*, *Phinnoi*, *Goutai*, *Daukiones* and *Leuonoi*.⁸⁸ Most discussions seem to centre on the *Suiones*. Already in 1898, G. Schütte suggests that Pliny's *Hillevionum gente* was a misspelling of *illa Suionum gente*, meaning *the famous Suionic people*.⁸⁹ In 1921, this is rejected by Svensson, as he fails to see why an otherwise completely unknown tribe should be called "famous". Furthermore, he argues that based on the order of appearance of the *Hilleviones* in Pliny's text, they ought to be found in the area of Zealand and Scania.⁹⁰ Svensson's arguments are criticised by Svennung, who calls his arguments faulty, as Pliny refers to the island as the most famous and to its size as: 1) unknown; 2) habitation in 500 *pagi*; and 3) "Another world". Then, Svennung gives a thorough palaeographical analysis of the change from *Hillevionum gente* to *illa Suionum gente*.⁹¹ Svennung's arguments are more or less accepted by both Alonso-Núñez and Timpe, while Hermann merely lists the various suggestions.⁹² Detlefsen only refers to C. Müller, who believes the *Hilleviones* to be the same as the *Leuonoi* from Ptolemaios.⁹³ Svennung, on the other hand, wants the *Leuonoi* to be the *Suiones*, as that is the tribe he champions. His arguments are based both on a palaeographical analysis as well as on the geographical information given by Ptolemaios. That he sees the *Suiones* in the central place of the *Leuonoi* is based on the fact that he places

79. Timpe 1989, 369-370.

80. Tacitus *Germania* 45.2; Timpe 1989, 372.

81. Lennartz 1969, 118-119.

82. Markianos *Περίπλους* 2.34.

83. <http://www.has-sejlkklub.dk/admin/result/Resultat-liste2006.pdf> (Checked on 5 December 2006).

84. Alonso-Núñez 1988, 49; Hermann 1988, 549.

85. Lennartz 1969, 65, map 5.

86. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 4.96, 99.

87. Tacitus *Germania* 44.2-3.

88. Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 2.11.2, 16.

89. Schütte 1898, 931.

90. Svensson 1921, 88-89.

91. Svennung 1974, 57-59, 81-91.

92. Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52; Hermann 1988, 566-567; Timpe 1989, 369.

93. Detlefsen 1904, 31.

the *Phinnoi* in northern Sweden and the *Goutai* in Väster- and Östergötland in the southern part of central Sweden.⁹⁴ The *Suiones* are supposed to be the later Svear, a tribe living in the central Swedish region of Uppland.⁹⁵ In my opinion, the question put forward by Svensson, i.e., why this people should be famous, cannot be brushed aside as easily as Svennung wants to. As Pliny is the first to mention this tribe, whether it is the one or the other name that is correct, it would have only just entered the Roman sphere. Had it been a misspelling of *illa Teutonorum gente* it would have made sense, also in the light of Me-la's information. The *Teutoni* could definitely be regarded as famous in the eyes of the Romans, as the Germanic invasions at the turn of the first century BC certainly gave them a profound scare. But there is no reason to think that the Romans thought of the *Suiones* or *Leuonoi* as famous. That the island is called an *alter orbis* would more likely qualify the tribe as being different rather than famous. Furthermore, as Timpe points out, in Tacitus' text what makes the *Suiones* interesting is their way of government, not their size or that of the island.⁹⁶

That the *Suiones* should be the preferred choice might very well have to do with the fact that a tribe of a resembling name, the Svear, rise in central Sweden to give name to the Swedes and present day Sweden. If *Hillevionum gente* is in fact a misspelling, we might as well be left with *illa Levionum gente*, i.e., the *Leviones*. The Latin form of *Λευωνοί* would be *Leuoni* and Svennung gives us plenty of examples of switched and misplaced vowels.⁹⁷ Thus, to a layman, it would seem that the complicated palaeographical calculations might just as easily lead to the *Leuoni*, only it is not that obvious that they have anything to do with the Svear.

Aeningia

Even more cryptic is Pliny's mention of *Aeningia*, "*nec minor est opinione Aeningia*", "The opin-

ion is that *Aeningia* is no smaller." This remark comes immediately after his description of the *Hilleviones*. Therefore, *Aeningia* is thought to be an island. Furthermore, the apparent comparison with *Scatinavia* as well as the fact that *Aeningia* is believed to be a corruption of *Fenningia* should indicate that this island is Finland.⁹⁸ This suggestion is rejected as early as 1887 by K. Müllenhoff, though without any arguments.⁹⁹ Detlefsen suggests that two misspellings have found their way into this short sentence and that it refers to *alter orbis*, i.e., "*nec minor est opinio de Ogygia*", "no less is the opinion of Ogygia" (that it is another world), Ogygia being an island far, far away, which Odysseus comes across on his journey home from Troy.¹⁰⁰ Posterity fails to support this assumption.

Mons Saevo

As can be seen above, the problem of Scandinavia has by far attracted the most attention. Curiously, no scholars pay any real attention to Solinus, perhaps because he is only seen as a copy of Pliny. And true, concerning the Scandinavia problem, he only gives us yet another name, *Gangavia*. Nevertheless, he states considerably more clearly that the *Saevo* Mountain borders on *Scythia*. Normally the River Vistula and the Sarmatian Mountains are seen as the border between *Germania* and *Scythia*.¹⁰¹ Neither does Markianos create much interest. Through his work, it appears that additional effort developed that of Ptolemaios, which again indicates that it had been possible to gather additional information on the Germanic coastal area after Ptolemaios, unless he disregarded it, trusting his coordinates. In fact, the information derived from the two later works helps clarify the information presented by our most detailed source, namely Pliny. Here we must return to the problem of orientation, which was discussed in the section on Pliny's work. The difficulties of placing all the bays, is-

94. Svennung 1974, 208-209.

95. Svennung 1974, 81-91.

96. Timpe 1989, 369-370.

97. Svennung 1974, 208-209.

98. Lennartz 1969, 73-74; Svennung 1974, 67-70; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52.

99. Müllenhoff 1887, 51, note **.

100. Detlefsen 1904, 33.

101. Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 3.5.1.

lands and seas according to a current map of Scandinavia and the Baltic regions, as shown above, have been numerous. Solinus' comment that the *Saevo* Mountain borders on *Scythia*, which corresponds to the direction in Pliny's narrative, makes it difficult to see Norway as the right location for this mountain. The lack of large mountain ridges in the eastern Baltic region has made such a location equally difficult to pinpoint, unless Svensson's explanation is accepted. In Ptolemaios' work, mention of any mountain vanishes regarding *Germania*, but east of the Vistula in *Sarmatia Europaea* he mentions a mountain ridge called the Venedian Mountains.¹⁰² Pliny mentions tribes that might be Scythian or Sarmatian, who apparently live in a region between the *Saevo* Mountain and the Vistula. One of these tribes is the *Venedi*. This fits with the information derived from Ptolemaios and Markianos that a bay in the Sarmatian Ocean called the Venedian stretches from the Vistula and that two other rivers flow into it. This corresponds perfectly with the Gulf of Gdansk and the bay outside the Kurskiy Zaliv near Kaliningrad, the two other rivers being the Pregolya and the Nemunas. As this area is west of the *Saevo* Mountain as Pliny describes it, apparently the eastern boundaries of *Germania* were not completely fixed until Ptolemaios. This is also reflected in Tacitus' account of the *Veneti* and other tribes, concerning which he is unsure whether to count as Germanic or Sarmatian.¹⁰³

Based on the literary sources available, I find it very probable that the Romans charted the entire Germanic coast early in the Principate, possibly sometime during the Augustan campaigns, but surely before the death of our most comprehensive source, Pliny the Elder. It is likely that he received additional information from the participants in the Roman "amber expedition" to the Baltic coast, especially information concerning the "Scythian" or "Sarmatian" coastal area in the eastern Baltic Sea. This knowledge, although not so much expanded, was confirmed during the 2nd century AD as re-

flected in the works of Ptolemaios and, through Markianos, Protagoras. It appears that the Roman and Greek authors had no conception of the Scandinavian Peninsula whatsoever.

The above review and discussion of the literary sources to Roman knowledge concerning the North should have demonstrated amply the inconsistencies between the descriptions of the various writers as well as the multitude of scholarly solutions to the puzzle.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Whereas the present discussion peaked in the early 20th century in philological circles, it never really was an integral part of the archaeological discussion. Of course that does not mean that the Roman Empire was not taken into consideration. Furthermore, there was a time span in which the northern part of Europe was influenced by the South. This period spans approximately from the birth of Christ to the end of the 4th century. Unfortunately, the literary sources investigated above only cover the period until the middle of the 2nd century. This coincides with the Early Roman Iron Age.

If it is possible to learn about Roman knowledge of Scandinavia from archaeological sources, it might come from analysing the Roman material found in this region dated to this period.

ROMAN IMPORTS

A clear picture of this find group is given by U. Lund Hansen in her work "Römischer Import im Norden" from 1987.¹⁰⁴ In this work, Roman imports found in Denmark, Norway and Sweden are thoroughly analysed. The word "import" is used in a very neutral way and the material in question consists primarily of vessels made of bronze, silver and glass. The pattern that emerged from the analyses of Lund Hansen is reflected as well in the more recent publication of J. Jensen on the Early Iron Age in Denmark.¹⁰⁵

102. Ptolemaios *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* 3.5.6.

103. Tacitus *Germania* 46.1-2.

104. Lund Hansen 1987.

105. Jensen 2003, 340-358.

The total number of Roman objects found in Denmark, Norway and Sweden from the Early Roman Iron Age as updated in 1987 was 280. From the Late Roman Iron Age, the number is 820, while only 64 objects could be dated as belonging to the Roman Iron Age. To illustrate the topic of this paper, I shall only concern myself with those from the Early Roman Iron Age. These 280 objects are distributed as follows: Denmark, 187 pieces (67%); Norway, 28 pieces (10%); and Sweden, 65 pieces (23%) (Fig. 6).¹⁰⁶

Denmark

The chronological distribution pattern based on the datable objects shows that after the initial period B1a (c. AD 1-40)¹⁰⁷, there is a slight drop in the number of objects from the follow-

ing period B1b (c. AD 40-70). In the next period B2 (c. AD 70-150/60), however, there is a veritable boom.¹⁰⁸ The geographical distribution pattern shows that the B1a material was found primarily in Jutland and on Lolland-Falster, with a small proportion on Funen. In the following period, Funen takes over completely, leaving a small proportion found on Zealand-Møn. At the time of the boom in B2, the material is more or less equally distributed across Jutland, Funen, Lolland-Falster and Zealand-Møn with a slight majority in Jutland. In B2/C1a, the pattern remains as in B2 except that Bornholm has substituted Lolland-Falster.¹⁰⁹ If one were to include the material only datable to B1 or B, the balance would only tip slightly in favour of Zealand-Møn.¹¹⁰

Norway and Sweden

The chronological distribution patterns of Norway and Sweden are almost identical. In B1a there are no objects, while B1b produces few in both countries; 3-4 pieces in Norway and 3-6+ in Sweden.¹¹¹ In comparison, 45 pieces are found from B1a-b in Denmark.¹¹² But as in Denmark, the objects greatly increase in B2. After B2, the objects in Norway are not securely datable until C1b (c. AD 210-250), which is outside our time of interest. In Sweden, the objects cannot be securely dated until C2 (c. AD 250-310). Geographically, the majority of objects in Norway are found in the area of Østfold on the east side of Oslo fjord. In Sweden, the majority of objects are found on Gotland, followed by Scania and Västergötland, and finally Öland, Uppland, Östergötland and Bohuslän.¹¹³

Svennung mentions that the connections between Uppland and the Roman Empire brought "...eine Unmenge bronzene und gläserne Gefässe, Münzen usw. nach Norden..."¹¹⁴ Obviously he is including imports from the Late Roman Iron Age as well.

Thus, the analyses show that *if* Roman objects reflect contact, then the contact was by far

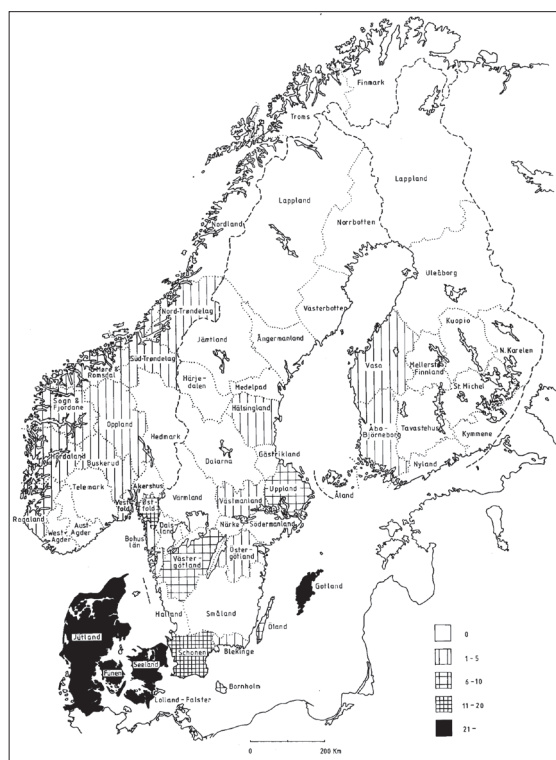


Fig. 6. Roman vessels in Scandinavia. Distribution map: Early Roman Iron Age (from Lund Hansen 1987, 130, fig. 78).

106. Lund Hansen 1987, 126-127.

107. For chronological references, see Lund Hansen 1987, 30.

108. Lund Hansen 1987, 127-128, figs. 73-74.

109. Lund Hansen 1987, 128-129, figs. 75-76; Jensen 2003, 348-350.

110. Lund Hansen 1987, 128-129, fig. 77.

111. Lund Hansen 1987, 132-137, figs. 80-86.

112. Lund Hansen 1987, 129, fig. 77.

113. Lund Hansen 1987, 132-137, figs. 83, 86; Jensen 2003, 348-350.

114. Svennung 1974, 95.

the greatest in Denmark, not counting Bornholm, followed closely by Gotland.¹¹⁵

But so far this is all just numbers. How can we use these to understand what contacts there might or must have been between the Romans and Scandinavia?

AD 1-40 (B1a)

What must be taken into consideration is the nature of the objects. In this period, the majority of the objects are of an exceptional quality and type, i.e., they are not just everyday utensils, but vessels of value to the ruling class, mostly of bronze. Obviously these items bring status to their owners. Almost exclusively they are parts of banquet sets. The objects first and foremost are found in graves, which are often richly equipped.

In the first four decades of the 1st century AD, a pattern emerges, as the graves containing Roman objects are almost exclusively situated in the coastal areas of Denmark, following a route a Roman expeditionary fleet might have taken in AD 5, along the west coast of Jutland, possibly through the Limfjord, south along the east coast, through Little Belt between Jutland and Funen and finally east on the south side of the islands of Lolland and Falster (Fig. 7).¹¹⁶ This is of course only speculation, but the possibility exists. At this time, the objects have not yet reached the Scandinavian Peninsula, apart from two found on Gotland and Öland dated to the Pre-Roman Iron Age. In Denmark as well, there were earlier finds of Roman imports.¹¹⁷ In two of these cases, we have at the same sites two of the most prominent graves from B1a. One is from the eastern part of Jutland, at Hedegård. Here, one grave dated to the beginning of the century contains not only a Roman bronze platter, but also a *pugio*, a Roman military dagger with a richly ornamented sheath.¹¹⁸ The other grave is the Hoby grave from the island of Lolland. This is by far the most spectacular



Fig. 7. Graves from period B1a (AD 1 - 40) with Roman objects (from Storgaard 2003, 110, fig. 3).

find from this period. The grave contains all the pieces of a Roman banquet set, except one, a *krater*. Five pieces were of bronze: a platter, a saucepan, a jug, a tray and a *situla*. Three cups were of silver: one small and a larger pair.¹¹⁹ The two larger cups were works of the finest Augustan craftsmanship, depicting scenes from the *Iliad*. Apart from the Roman imports, there were among other things two drinking horn fittings, five silver *fibulae* and two gold finger rings.¹²⁰ Interestingly enough, a grave from Bendstrup in eastern Jutland contains the remains of what could be the wine container missing in Hoby.¹²¹ Furthermore, two silver *fibulae*, resembling those from Hoby, were found there as well. This could be an indication of closer relations, perhaps of an exogamous kind.¹²² In addition, the Hoby cups included inscriptions on the bottom giving the name Silius. As it were, this name is familiar to us through the *Annales* of Tacitus.¹²³ Caius Silius was the commander of the upper Rhine army during the Roman punitive expeditions led by Germanicus from AD 14-16. As

115. Lund Hansen 1987, 130, fig. 78.

116. Lund Hansen 1987, 146, figs. 100, 292, Karte 2; Storgaard 2003, 110-111, fig. 3.

117. Lund Hansen 1987, 126.

118. Madsen 1999, 74-83; Watt 2003, 185-186, fig. 6.

119. Friis Johansen 1923, 119-165; Lund Hansen 1987, 403.

120. Jensen 2003, 317.

121. Lund Hansen 1987, 407.

122. Hedeager & Kristiansen 1981, 133-138; Jensen 2003, 293-294, 316-317.

123. Tacitus *Annales* 1.30, 72, 2.6.

such, he might have given his banquet set to a Germanic chieftain as a gift for services rendered or promised. Another possibility is that the set was given away by the Roman administration after the disgrace and suicide by Silius in AD 24, inflicted on him by Tiberius' right hand Sejanus.¹²⁴ The fact that the set is almost intact highly indicates that the Hoby chieftain was able to acquire all the parts at the same time. Had the set travelled to Lolland through one or many pairs of hands, the set would almost certainly have been split up. We know that the Romans changed tactics after Varus' defeat; when the military campaigns were terminated, diplomacy took over. Already in AD 6, Tiberius had to settle with the *Marcomanni*, as his army was desperately needed elsewhere. It seems the Romans found a means to establish diplomatic contact by giving items related to the banquet to the Germanic elite. That these objects should have reached their destination by regular trade seems highly unlikely.

But how did the objects spread? Are they indeed signs that Romans bought off local tribes? It is of course an intriguing thought that Romans might have circumnavigated Jutland once more in order to buy peace. However, it is more likely that the objects were distributed within the Germanic elite throughout northern Europe to create alliances and dependencies.¹²⁵ Although the Roman luxury goods were distributed by the Germanic elite themselves, I find it unlikely that the Romans would not benefit from these alliances. As these objects were always Roman and never locally copied, they had to be supplied by the Romans. Did they negotiate the outspread of goods with the initial client, thereby letting the Germanic elite create Roman allies? Did the Hoby chieftain negotiate on behalf of Silius, perhaps with the help of a son-in-law living in Jutland? These are naturally unanswerable questions. But the fact remains that throughout the Early Roman Iron Age, the influx of Roman objects in Scandinavia varies in a manner that coincides with the

political situation in the western part of the Roman Empire.

AD 40-70 (B1b)

During a period of c. 30 years, there is a decrease in the number of objects, of which a few on the other hand now reach both Norway and Sweden. At this time, Denmark begins to serve as a filter regarding Norway and Sweden, something that increases during the following periods.¹²⁶ Different areas than those in B1a seem to dominate, but is it just coincidence that the influx is lower or is it a question of supply and demand? If this was ordinary trade, the Roman supply would definitely be able to meet any given demands, but if we are talking politics, it is an entirely different matter. In this time span, from AD 40-70, Roman eyes were no longer fixed on *Germania*, but rather on Britain. In AD 43, Claudius invaded Britain, where the Romans were kept busy until AD 85, when Agricola had "civilised" and secured Britain and was called back to Rome. Seen from a Roman diplomatic view, the Germanic tribes could have been sufficiently pacified at this time, and as it was no longer feasible to enter *Germania* with military force, the gift diplomacy was scaled down. Could this be the reason why Roman luxury goods were no longer as frequently distributed to the Scandinavian area?

AD 70-150/60 (B2)

From AD 70 and onwards, Roman objects are suddenly booming. The nature of the items changes as well. In this period, the majority consists of a few mass-produced types rather than the rare and exquisite types of the earlier periods.¹²⁷ Lund Hansen emphasises three reasons for the change from B1b to B2. One major reason, as she sees it, is that the production of bronze vessels has moved from Italy to Gaul. Another reason could be that the Roman Empire settles down in this period. Lastly, she mentions that it cannot be excluded that the change comes from strictly internal matters.¹²⁸

124. Tacitus *Annales* 4.18-20; Andersson & Herschend 1997, 13-14.

125. Hedeager 1988, 151-157; Lund Hansen 1987, 194; Jensen 2003, 345-347.

126. Lund Hansen 1987, 198.

127. Lund Hansen 1987, 198; Jensen 2003, 353.

128. Lund Hansen 1987, 199-200.

The years AD 68-70 were of tremendous importance to the future of the Roman Empire. In AD 68, Nero committed suicide and the Empire was once again thrown into civil war producing four new emperors within a year and a half. When the last of the four, Vespasian, had established control, he was faced with two revolts, one at each end of the Empire. One was the uprising in Judea;¹²⁹ the other was the Batavian revolt.¹³⁰ In AD 69, a Batavian prince and Roman officer, Gaius Julius Civilis, was asked in secrecy by a friend of Vespasian to delay some troop movements meant for his rival Vitellius. This he did, as well as going into battle against troops who were loyal to Vitellius. At the time of Vitellius' death, it became clear for the Romans that Civilis wanted to break free of the Roman hegemony. He was joined by both Gauls, who wanted a Gallic empire, and Germanic tribes from across the Rhine. At the height of the revolt, Civilis and his allies were in military control of the military districts of Upper and Lower *Germania*, as well as most of the province of Belgica.¹³¹ The civil wars had left the Roman Empire devoid of defences in many areas. While the Danube garrisons had been drawn to Italy to be used in the power struggle, the Rhine area had fallen into the hands of Civilis & Co. They had destroyed most of the fortifications including the legionary camps at Xanten and Bonn, though not those at Mainz and Vindonissa.¹³² After the defeat of Civilis in the autumn of AD 70, Vespasian had to reconstruct the linear defence along the Rhine and relocate the troops. One lesson learned was never to garrison auxiliary troops in their own homeland.

At this point, a situation arises that Lund Hansen suggests as a second reason for the drastic increase in Roman objects in Scandinavia; the Roman Empire settles down and begins a period of peace and tranquillity for more than a hundred years, the time of the Flavians and the adoptive Emperors, of whom only Domitian causes internal unrest. But why bring up this description of

the unrest of the northwestern part of the Empire? Since this rebellion was followed by what was probably the most prosperous century in the history of the Roman Empire, perhaps too little attention has been paid to the possible effect of the actions of Civilis and the danger to Rome. Had Civilis and his allies focused on a strategy, whether to stand or advance, instead of letting everything fall apart, and had other Germanic tribes such as the *Marcomanni* seized the opportunity to cross the Danube, much would have been different. Surely thoughts like these would have entered the minds of the Roman leaders in the days of AD 70. Is the transition from B1b to B2 in fact also a result of the Romans being forced to alter drastically Roman foreign policy concerning the Germanic territories, thus rapidly "up-scaling" the use of gift diplomacy with the Germanic tribes? If so, the effect is seen only in the Scandinavian material, as J. Kunow states that no real difference is traceable on the continent.¹³³ The purpose of such political actions could have been an attempt to persuade tribes living further away to keep a check on "the first line" of tribes, thus easing the tension on the frontier.

For period B2, it is still believed that the distribution was made through centres of the Germanic elite.¹³⁴ But in a grave at Juellinge on Lolland, two blue rippled glass bowls were found.¹³⁵ A distribution map of this type of glass shows that outside the Roman Empire, they are only found at the black Sea coast and just across the Rhine near Köln and Mainz.¹³⁶ That there are no parallels in the central Germanic area could be an indication that there had been direct contact.

For the islands in the Baltic Sea, Bornholm, Öland and Gotland, there appears to be a closer connection to the Vistula delta.¹³⁷

COINS

A group of Roman objects not mentioned thus far is coins. In Scandinavia, 11,000 Ro-

129. Tacitus *Historiae* 5.1-13.

130. Tacitus *Historiae* 4.12-37, 54-79, 85-86; 5.14-26.

131. Soesbergen 1971, 238-249, map 1.

132. Schönberger 1985, 357-358.

133. Kunow 1983, 36.

134. Jensen 2003, 353-354.

135. Jensen 2003, 356-358; Lund Hansen 1987, 194, figs. 130, 403; Müller 1911, 17-30.

136. Jensen 2003, 357.

137. Lund Hansen 1987, 198.

man coins have emerged, of these 7,500 alone on the island of Gotland, 2,000 on Bornholm, 700 from Gudme on Funen and 500 from Råmosen on Zealand. This number in itself is not particularly spectacular. To compare, 60,000 coins have been found in the Vistula basin in Poland.¹³⁸

A large portion of the Scandinavian coins are found in hoards or as part of war booty sacrifices. Most of the finds are dated to the Late Roman Iron Age. One hoard from Ginderup in northern Jutland, however, was deposited already at the end of the 1st century AD. Of 24 *denarii* and one *aureus*, the youngest was from the reign of Vespasian.¹³⁹ Of the later deposits, it is worth noting that a high percentage of the coins are Flavian. This is a pattern recognisable from Continental and Scandinavian finds alike.¹⁴⁰ Based on the chronological distribution of coins from the larger Danish deposits, it is quite clear that Flavian and especially Vespasian coins constitute an important part of the early coins.¹⁴¹ In one hoard find from Råmosen on Zealand, one Vespasian coin issue was represented by 22 pieces.¹⁴² The question is whether the appearance of Flavian coins is related to the above-mentioned theory concerning a specific Flavian foreign policy directed at the northern parts of *Barbaricum*. As with the other Roman objects, the majority of Roman coins, Gotland aside, are found in Denmark. However, the Baltic islands constitute a special role in the overall picture.¹⁴³ In 1991, Herschend made a map showing the distribution of Roman coin types for each century based on the date of issue.¹⁴⁴ The idea was that higher numbers would reflect closer relations. His maps for the first two centuries AD show no change concerning Schleswig-Holstein (5), Jutland (5), Funen, Scania and Gotland (each 2) and Bornholm (1), while Zealand, with smaller islands, and Öland both go from 2 to

4 types. But the problem with these maps is that they are outdated for some regions based on the status of 1948. What would the picture be if we made maps based on periods rather than centuries? A. Kromann provides a hint to this in her 1995 investigation of coins from Zealand. A simple count indicates the following numbers: B1a (0), B1b (1) and B2 (4).¹⁴⁵ However, before we get too excited, it should be noted that the material included in the statistics contains only nine coins that are not *denarii*, which of course makes these findings extremely tentative, if not merely curious.

An unusual and intriguing single coin find in a female grave from Himlingøje, dated to C1b (AD 210/20-250/60), also gives weight to this theory.¹⁴⁶ The grave is one of the richest at Himlingøje, containing an almost complete Roman banquet set. The woman was wearing precious ornaments, among others a long necklace maybe of Sarmatian inspiration. It was fastened with a large rune-ornamented rosette *fibula* and consisted of more than 80 beads of silver, glass and amber as well as a silver amulet case.¹⁴⁷ Approximately in the middle, a Roman silver *denarius* from the reign of Titus AD 79-81 was attached.¹⁴⁸ The coin itself is not in any way spectacular, e.g., it is not equipped with an eyelet, but is fastened through a hole beneath the head of Titus. What could have been the reason for the presence of this coin? It is intriguing to think that this coin was important perhaps because it had been a part of the first official contact between the Romans and the Himlingøje family's ancestors during the reign of Titus four or five generations earlier. Or it might simply have had some magical purpose.¹⁴⁹

Another question is to what extent we can use coin material when analysing the Early Roman Iron Age. As mentioned, most coins are found in hoards or offerings of a much later date.

138. Bursche 2002, 70; Horsnæs 2003, 340.

139. Hatt 1935, 47-50; Jensen 2003, 358-359.

140. Bursche 2002, 70-71; Horsnæs 2003, 335; Kromann 1995, 351.

141. Horsnæs 2003, 335; Kromann 1995, 353-354.

142. Kromann 1995, 351.

143. Bursche 2002, 69-74; Horsnæs 2005, 13, 18.

144. Herschend 1991, 33-46.

145. Kromann 1995, 349, fig. 13:3.

146. Lund Hansen 1987, 413; Lund Hansen *et al.* 1995, 152-158.

147. Storgaard 2003, 177; Lund Hansen *et al.* 1995, 166-167, figs. 4:45-6.

148. Lund Hansen *et al.* 1995, 155 (H1/100), 158, fig. 4:27, pl. 21 (H1 100).

149. Horsnæs 2005, 16.

A STRANGE BUILDING

The last archaeological evidence to be put forward here concerns a building from Jutland, north of the Limfiord. In 2000, the remains of a huge building complex were found that could be dated to the Early Iron Age. The building complex was square, a shape hitherto not known to have been used at this time.¹⁵⁰ Is this building a sign as well of the growing Roman contact?

CONCLUSION

The archaeological evidence presented here gives an impression of great differences in form and intensity of the contact between the Romans and the Scandinavian peoples. The intensity diminishes greatly from the Danish area to the Scandinavian Peninsula. In the South, there are indications that diplomatic connections are the major source of the flow of Roman imports conspicuously following impacts on and interests of the Roman Empire. In the East, trade connections are made with the markets of the river areas in Poland, which constitute the northern end of the main trading route of the Roman Empire along the Vistula River. The North has little to do with the Romans in this early stage, probably only having the slightest contact with the Empire.

THE LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

To define the character of the relationship between the Roman Empire and Scandinavia, as can be seen from the above, is a highly complex matter. No source, whether literary or archaeological, can provide us with any certain answers, but the combined overall picture is perhaps not as blurry as one might fear.

I believe that a close analysis of the literary sources makes it difficult to support whole-

heartedly the traditional belief that *Scatinavia/Skandia* and the tribal federation of the *Suiones* should be placed in central Sweden. Moreover, when the archaeological evidence is taken into consideration, a picture is created in which this region (Uppland and Mälardalen) is only peripherally in contact with the Roman Empire. Had it not been for the likenesses of the names, *Suiones* and *Svear*, this region would probably never have entered Svennung's discussion in this way. But Svennung does not use only palaeographical sources. He actually incorporates archaeological sources as well. From the "pre-history" of the *Suiones* he mentions the "Håga Empire" from the Bronze Age.¹⁵¹ He continues with a description of "*Ein grosses Swionenreich*", which arose around the birth of Christ, and which most likely came into contact with Roman merchants.¹⁵² That a Bronze Age society had existed in the same area is hardly admissible as evidence, likewise the evidence concerning the Roman Iron Age, as presented above, is no indication of massive contact, but rather the opposite.

Attributing the *Suiones* to another part of the Swedish Peninsula is just as unlikely based on the archaeological evidence. If we are to look for an island, Gotland is shown to have extensive contacts. The size of this island suggests that the *Suiones* could easily defend their island; however, it contradicts the fact that it should be the home of numerous *pagi* and a tribal federation. But it is closest to the east, from where the narrative takes off. In this case, Öland might be a suitable candidate for *Aeningia*, incidentally. Zealand as well is shown to have extensive contacts. This island could have housed a large number of villages, as the population density was high in the Roman Iron Age. Furthermore, the size of Zealand corresponds very well with what the literary sources report. A minor but interesting fact in support of Zealand is the absence of weapon graves throughout the Early Roman Iron Age, a feature otherwise widespread.¹⁵³ Tacitus mentions that in the Suionic society, weapons were

150. Lund Hansen 2001, 66; Lund Hansen 2002, 42.

151. Svennung 1974, 91-94.

152. Svennung 1974, 95-104.

153. Watt 2003, 186.

locked up. This could be reflected in the absence of weapons in the graves.¹⁵⁴ Interestingly, Tacitus' description of the sea behind the *Suiones* very much resembles Pliny's description of the sea beyond the Cimbrian Peninsula.¹⁵⁵ But is Zealand too small as well? It could be a problem finding space for the seven different peoples mentioned by Ptolemaios, but they may not have lived only on one island. Finally, the *Suiones* might not have lived on *Scatinavia* at all.

The tribe of the *Sithones* is just as strange. All we know is that they live next to the *Suiones* and are ruled by a woman, an observation almost too bizarre for the otherwise serious Tacitus, if not only to stress the bizarreness of the situation from a Roman point of view. In Uppland, in fact, the women's graves are very richly equipped at certain times.¹⁵⁶ Should we identify the people in Mälardalen as the *Sithones* rather than the *Suiones*? In all fairness, it should be mentioned that rich women's graves are found in plenty elsewhere in Scandinavia as well, for instance at Skovgårde on southern Zealand.¹⁵⁷

The overall picture that presents itself is a Scandinavia that can be divided into three different zones:

1. A southern zone consisting of the Danish territory, probably including Scania. Most of the information on the North derived from the literary sources refers to this area, in my belief. The archaeological evidence points in the same direction. This is not the case concerning coins. Based on the analyses above, this leads me to conclude that the contact between the Roman Empire and this zone was primarily of a diplomatic (i.e., military, political) nature.
2. An eastern zone consisting of the islands in the Baltic Sea: Bornholm, Öland and Gotland. They may represent some of the islands mentioned in the literary sources. The somewhat different characteristics of the imports found on these islands and the distribution pattern of

Roman coins suggest that this zone had closer contact with the Vistula-delta, mainly of a trade nature.

3. A northern zone, the Scandinavian Peninsula, probably excluding Scania. I believe that the literary sources only scantily cover this area and only vaguely. The archaeological material shows only diminutive contact at first, and later this contact is filtered through Zone 1. Roman coins are too few to mention in this zone.

It appears to me that in the Graeco/Roman mind the northern part of Europe had twisted a few degrees clockwise compared to reality (Fig. 4). This is reflected by Ptolemaic Jutland and the flow of the Rhine. Furthermore, it seems that the Romans really did not know anything concrete about the Scandinavian Peninsula. As Pliny mentions the *Saevo* Mountain as one side of the "entrance" to the Codan Bay, he must believe it is situated in *Scythia*. Possibly it is identical with Ptolemaios' Venedian Mountains. I am convinced that the knowledge we see reflected in the literary sources constitutes the exploration of the Baltic Sea coast most likely from the Gulf of Riga to the Rhine, a thought that is really only apparent in the examination of Svensson among the modern scholars. Furthermore, the travellers, whether military or civilian, learned of a great number of islands in the ocean. This means that the authors were ignorant of the real size and nature of the Baltic Sea and that they had absolutely no conception of the Scandinavian Peninsula. The most obvious reason for this is probably that they had never been that far, solely basing their descriptions on myth and Germanic hear-say, without being able to make anything remotely accurate out of it. In view of the linear thought that was the basis of Roman travels, i.e., to get from one point to the next, a sea voyage would have followed the coast line and not attempted to cross open sea.

154. Tacitus *Germania* 44.3.

155. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 2.167; Tacitus *Germania* 45.1.

156. Andersson 1998, 89; Nylén & Schönback 1994.

157. Ethelberg *et al.* 2000.

APPENDIX 1. PLINY THE ELDER *NATURALIS HISTORIA* 4.94-7

94. Exeundum deinde est, ut extere Europae dicantur; transgressisque Ripaeos montes litus oceani septentrionalis in laeva, donec perveniatur Gadis, legendum. insulae complures sine nominibus eo situ traduntur, ex quibus ante Scythiam, quae appellatur Baunonia, unam abesse diei cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum eiciatur, Timaeus prodidit. reliqua litora incerta. signata fama septentrionalis oceani. Amalchium eum Hecataeus appellat a Parapaniso amne, qua Scythiam adluit, quod nomen eius gentis lingua significat congelatum.

95. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium Rusbeas, ultra deinde Cronium. Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis Balciam tradit, eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat. feruntur et Oeoniae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae, in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascuntur; Hippopodes appellati, Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant.

96. Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania. mons Saevo ibi, immensus nec Ripaeis iugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est Scatinavia, incopertae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis: quare alterum orbem terrarum eam appellant. nec minor est opinione Aeningia.

97. Quidam haec habitari ad Vistlam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt, sinum Cylipenum vocari et in ostio eius insulam Latrim, mox alterum sinum Lagnum, conterminum Cimbris. promunturium imbrorum excurrens in maria longe paeninsulam efficit, quae Tastris appellatur. XXIII inde insulae Romanis armis cognitae. Earum nobilissimae Burcana, Fabaria nostris dicta a frugis multitudine sponte provenientis, item Glaesaria a sucino militiae appellata, [a] barbaris Austeravia, praeterque Actania.

94. Next, we shall move on to the coast of the northern Ocean which is said to be the outermost part of Europe, after crossing over the Ripaeian Mountains,

following it to the left until *Gadis* (Cádiz) is reached. Several islands without names are reported at this location. One of these, lying off *Scythia*, is called *Baunonia*, one day's voyage away according to Timaeus, where amber is washed up by the waves when it is the right season. The remaining coasts are vaguely known. Of established report is the northern Ocean. From the River *Parapanisus*, which washes the coast of *Scythia*, Hecataeus calls it the Amalchian Sea, which means 'frozen' in the language of the natives.

95. According to Philemon it is called Morimarus by the Cimbri (that is 'Dead Sea') from that point and all the way to the Rusbean promontory and then on the other side it is called the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of Lampsacus reports that the island *Balcia* of immense size lies three days' sail from the coast of the Scythians; Pytheas names this island *Basilia*.

It is said that there are islands called the *Oeoniae*, on which inhabitants live in the wilderness of eggs and wild oats, others, on which the humans are born with horses' feet called *Hippopodes*, others of the *Phanesii*, where their own huge ears cover their entire otherwise nude bodies.

96. From there on the account is revealed more clearly from the line of the *Inguaeones*, who are the first in *Germania*. There the *Saevo* Mountain, which is immense and no smaller than the Ripaeian mountains, forms an enormous bay, which is called *Codanus*, going all the way to the Cimbrian promontory; a bay full of islands, of which the most famous is *Scatinavia*, of unknown size. As large a part of the island, as is known is inhabited in 500 *pagi* by the line of the *Hilleviones*: therefore the island is called another world. No smaller is *Aeningia* according to belief.

97. Once, it has been reported that this part all the way to the River Vistula is inhabited by the *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, *Sciri* and *Hirri*, the bay is called *Cylipenus* and in its mouth is the island *Latris*. Another bay follows, the *Lagnus*, bordering upon the *Cimbri*. The Cimbrian Promontory, projecting far into the sea, makes out a peninsula, which is called *Tastris*. After that 23 islands are known by Roman armies. Of these islands the most famous is *Burcana*, called *Fabaria* by us because of the multitude of fruits growing wild. It is also called *Glaesaria* by the military because of the amber. It is called *Austeravia* by the Barbarians and besides *Actania*.

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